

Message Text

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AMCONSUL IZMIR
USMISSION USNATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ANKARA 6441

EXDIS

BRUSSELS PASS TO FAA REP

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS USCINCEUR, CINCUSAFE, USDOCOSOUTH FOR INTAF
AND USNMR SHAPE - MILITARY ADDRESSES TREAT AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PEPR, EQIR, GR, TU
SUBJ: AUGUST 28-31 GREEK-TURKISH AEGEAN AIRSPACE TALKS

REF: (A) ANKARA 6175, (B) ATHENS 7639

1. SUMMARY: TURKS REPORT THAT LITTLE PROGRESS WAS MADE
IN ATHENS AIRSPACE TALKS, BUT MAINTAIN THAT SERIES OF TALKS
HAS BEEN USEFUL IN CLARIFYING ISSUES FOR SECRETARIES GENERAL
WHO ARE SCHEDULED TO MEET IN ATHENS SEPTEMBER 17. MOST
DIFFICULT ISSUE REMAINING IS T O FIND WAY TO SATISFY
TURKISH SECURITY NEEDS. TURKEY PROPOSES AN AUTOMATIC
CROSS-TELL SYSTEM BASED ON NATO STANDARDS WHICH WOULD
PUT REFERENCE LINE APPROXIMATELY IN MIDDLE OF AEGEAN.
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GREECE COUNTERS WITH BASICALLY A MANUAL SYSTEM WITH THE
PRESENT FIR BOUNDARY AS THE REFERENCE LINE. TURKEY
MAINTAINS GREEK PROPOSAL HAS SERIOUS TECHNICAL DEFECTS
AND WOULD NOT MEET ITS SECURITY NEEDS. END SUMMARY

2. GAZNE SOYSAL, MFA SECTION CHIEF FOR CIVIL AVIATION
AND PARTICIPANT IN AUGUST 28-31 GREEK-TURKISH AIRSPACE

TALKS, BRIEFED EMBOFF ON TALKS SEPTEMBER 8. SOYSAL INDICATED THAT LITTLE, IF ANY, PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE IN NARROWING DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES. HE DECLINED, HOWEVER, TO CHARACTERIZE TALKS AS A FAILURE, SINCE MISSION ASSIGNED TO SPECIALISTS BY MFA SECRETARIES GENERAL HAD BEEN TO EXPLORE FULLY EACH OTHER'S POSITIONS, TO DEFINE THE ISSUES CAREFULLY, AND TO REPORT BACK TO THEIR RESPECTIVE SECGENS. HE FELT THAT THE TWO ROUNDS OF TALKS HAD BEEN USEFUL AND THAT SECGENS WOULD BE ABLE TO RESOLVE MANY OF THE ISSUES UNDER DISCUSSION WHEN THEY MET IN ATHENS SEPTEMBER 17, PROVIDING THERE WAS A DESIRE AT THE POLITICAL LEVEL TO DO SO.

3. SECURITY QUESTION: SOYSAL INDICATED THAT THE MOST DIFFICULT ISSUE CONTINUED TO BE FINDING A MUTUALLY-AGREEABLE WAY TO SATISFY TURKISH SECURITY NEEDS IN REGARD TO EFFECTIVE AND TIMELY NOTIFICATION OF AIRCRAFT APPROACHING THE TURKISH MAINLAND. THE GREEK SIDE CONTINUED TO REJECT THE TURKISH PROPOSAL FOR AN AUTOMATIC CROSS-TELL SYSTEM SINCE IT WOULD RESULT IN TURKISH REPORTING ON AIRCRAFT IN SOVEREIGN GREEK AIRSPACE OVER THE ISLANDS OFF THE TURKISH MAINLAND. SOYSAL ALLOWED THAT THIS ASPECT OF THE TURKISH PROPOSAL CREATED A DIFFICULT POLITICAL PROBLEM FOR GREECE. THIS RESULTED, HOWEVER, FROM A MISPERCEPTION OF WHAT WAS IN EFFECT A TECHNICAL ARRANGEMENT. GREEK RADAR WOULD

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CONTINUE, AS IT DOES NOW, TO COVER THE ENTIRE REGION UP TO AND BEYOND THE TURKISH COAST. TURKEY HAD NO DESIRE TO GAIN ANY KIND OF EXCLUSINVE REPORTING RESPONSIBILITY OVER THE AREA OFF ITS COAST. TURKEY'S INTEREST WAS IN GAINING INFORMATION ON AIRCRAFT APPROACHING TURKEY FROM THE INTERNATIONAL AIRSPACE IN THE MIDDLE OF THE AEGEAN SO THAT TURKEY WOULD KNOW WHETHER THESE AIRCRAFT WERE DESTINED FOR THE ISLANDS OR WERE GOING TO CROSS OVER INTO TURKISH AIRSPACE.

4. THE GREEK COUNTEROFFERS WERE BASED ON THE PRINCIPLE OF RECIPROCITY, I.E. THAT TURKEY SHOULD PROVIDE INFORMATION ON AIRCRAFT ON THE TURKISH SIDE OF THE FIR IN RETURN FOR GREEK INFORMATION ON AIRCRAFT ON THE GREEK SIDE. THIS WAS ONE OF THE REASONS, SOYSAL SPECULATED, THAT GREECE INSISTED ON A MANUAL CROSS-TELL SYSTEM: BECAUSE OF THE POSITIONING OF THE RESPECTIVE RADARS, AN AUTOMATIC SYSTEM WOULD PLACE THE REFERENCE LINE FOR EXCHANGE OF DATA ROUGHLY IN THE MIDDLE OF THE AEGEAN. WITH A MANUAL CROSS-TELL SYSTEM, THE REFERENE LINE COULD BE ESTABLISHED ON THE FIR LINE JUST OFF THE TURKISH COAST.

5. SOYSAL ARGUED THAT THE GREEK POSITION WAS ILLOGICAL AND IRRELEVANT TO TURKISH SECURITY NEEDS. FIRST, TURKEY NEEDED INFORMATION ON AIRCRAFT APPROACHING THROUGH INTERNATIONAL AIRSPACE; GREECE HAD NO RECIPROCAL NEED, SINCE THERE WAS NO INTERNATIONAL AIRSPACE ON THE TURKISH SIDE OF THE FIR LINE. SECONDLY, RECIPROCITY IN REGARD TO SECURITY NEEDS BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY SHOULD BE BASED ON EACH SIDE'S MAJOR MILITARY INSTALLATIONS, WHICH WERE ON THE RESPECTIVE MAINLANDS, NOT ON THE DEMILITARIZED GREEK ISLANDS. THE GREEK PROPOSAL, HE ARGUED, WAS BASED ON A FALSE GEOGRAPHICAL RECIPROCITY WHICH DID NOT TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE MILITARY SITUATION IN THE AREA.

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OR USNMR SHAPE.

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FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 ANKARA 6441

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6. SOYSAL SAID DISCUSSION OF THIS ISSUE HAD BEEN HAMPERED BY AN APPARENT LACK OF EXPERTISE ON THE GREEK SIDE. THE TURKISH PROPOSAL WAS BASED ENTIRELY ON EXISTING NATO STANDARDS AND PROCEDURES FOR AUTOMATIC CROSS-TELL SYSTEMS. IN RESPONSE TO GREEK QUESTIONS ON TECHNICAL DETAILS OF THE TURKISH PROPOSAL, THE TURKS FELL BACK ON THE RELEVANT NATO DOCUMENTS WITH WHICH, APPARENTLY, THE GREEK NEGOTIATORS WERE NOT THOROUGHLY FAMILIAR. IN THE ATHENS TALKS, THE GREEKS HAD COUNTERED WITH WHAT SOYSAL DESCRIBED AS A "DEGENERATED" AUTOMATIC CROSS-TELL SYSTEM UNDER WHICH THE REFERENCE LINE WOULD BE THE FIR LINE. THE TURKISH SIDE HAD NUMEROUS TECHNICAL OBJECTIONS, AND MAINTAINED THAT ANY CHANGE IN ACCEPTED NATO PROCEDURES WOULD HAVE TO BE APPROVED BY NATO. SOYSAL CONCLUDED THAT THE GREEK PROPOSAL CONFIDENTIAL

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WOULD NOT MEET TURKEY'S SECURITY NEEDS.

7. TECHNICAL ISSUES: SOYSAL DID NOT GO INTO GREAT DETAIL REGARDING THE TECHNICAL ISSUES UNDER DISCUSSION, WHICH HE INDICATED INCLUDED: REMOVAL OF THE CONTINUOUS RESTRICTED DANGEROUS AREAS; SIZE OF THE LIMNOS TERMINAL MOVEMENT AREA (TNA); THE TURKISH DESIRE TO HAVE THE LOWER LIMITS OF INTERNATIONAL AIR ROUTES RAISED TO 10,000 FEET SO THAT NATIONAL AIRCRAFT (READ MILITARY) COULD HAVE MORE FREEDOM OF MANEUVER IN INTERNATIONAL AIRSPACE; AND ADJUSTMENT OF AIR ROUTES TO ACCOMMODATE TURKISH COMMERCIAL NEEDS. ON THESE ISSUES, THE ONLY AREA IN WHICH THE GREEK SIDE HAD MADE A CONCRETE CONCESSION AT ATHENS WAS IN REDUCING THE SIZE OF THE LIMNOS TMA. THE PROPOSED TMA, HOWEVER, WAS STILL LARGER THAN NEEDED FOR CIVILIAN PURPOSES, AND TURKEY OBJECTED TO THE GREEK JUSTIFICATION THAT IT WAS NEEDED FOR MILITARY PURPOSES SINCE LIMNOS WAS SUPPOSED TO BE A DEMILITARIZED ISLAND. ON MOST, IF NOT ALL OF THE OTHER ISSUES, SOYSAL INDICATED THAT THE GREEK NEGOTIATORS HAD SIGNALLED THAT TURKISH NEEDS COULD POTENTIALLY BE ACCOMMODATED IN THE CONTEXT OF AN OVERALL AGREEMENT.

COMMENT: AS THE PARTY SEEKING CHANGES IN THE AEGEAN STATUS QUO, THE TURKS ARE PUTTING THE BEST GLOSS POSSIBLE ON THE NEGOTIATIONS AND ARE INSISTING THAT THE REMAINING ISSUES ARE RESOLVABLE. THEY WANT TO GAIN FROM THESE NEGOTIATIONS AT LEAST AN IMPLICIT ACKNOWLEDGEMENT BY GREECE THAT IT DOES NOT HAVE SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE ENTIRE AEGEAN AND THAT ACTIONS GREECE TAKES IN REGARD TO THE INTERNATIONAL AIRSPACE IN THE AREA MUST BOTH CONFORM TO ICAO RULES AND ACCOMMODATE TURKEY'S NEEDS AS THE MAJOR OTHER INTERESTED PARTY IN THE REGION. THE NEGOTIA-

TIONS OVER WHAT WE HAVE TERMED THE "TECHNICAL ISSUES"

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APPEAR TO BE MOVING IN THIS DIRECTION.

REGARDING THE SECURITY ISSUE, WE HAVE QUESTIONED THE VALIDITY OF THE TURKISH ARGUMENT (REFTEL A) AND REMAIN UNCONVINCED THAT TURKISH SECURITY WILL BE MATERIALLY IMPROVED BY THE ARRANGEMENT FOR AUTOMATIC CROSS-TELLING THE GOT HAS PROPOSED. NONETHELESS, THE TURKS APPEAR TO BELIEVE THAT THERE IS A GENUINE SECURITY ISSUE. BY DROPPING THEIR EARLIER DEMANDS FOR FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES IN THE AEGEAN AIR TRAFFIC CONTROL REGIME AND FOCUSING PRIMARILY ON THE SECURITY QUESTION, THE TURKS SEEM TO BE TRYING TO PUT THE ISSUE IN THE ONLY CONTEXT IN WHICH THE TWO SIDES COULD BE EXPECTED TO REACH AN ACCOMMODATION. IT IS OUR JUDGMENT THAT THIS REFLECTS THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT'S DESIRE TO SEE THESE NEGOTIATIONS REACH AN AGREED CONCLUSION. THEY SEEM PREPARED TO GIVE THE GREEKS THEIR PRIMARY POLITICAL OBJECTIVE, IE, ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF CONTINUED GREEK RESPONSIBILITY FOR AIR TRAFFIC CONTROL IN THE PRESENT AEGEAN FIR IN EXCHANGE FOR WHAT THEY HARACTERIZE AS A TECHNICAL EXCAHNGE OF INFORMATION OF MILITARY VALUE BETWEEN MEMBERS OF THE NATO ALLIANCE.

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